

MARK A. R. KLEIMAN

CURRENT ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

MARRON INSTITUTE OF URBAN MANAGEMENT, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

DIRECTOR, CRIME AND JUSTICE Program

Current Research Interests: deterrence; community corrections; applications of models of imperfect rationality to public decision-making; drug abuse control policy; illicit market economics; crime control; punishment as a social resource to be produced and allocated.

[MARRON INSTITUTE OF URBAN MANAGEMENT](#)

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY WAGNER GRADUATE SCHOOL OF PUBLIC SERVICE

PROFESSOR OF PUBLIC POLICY

Current Classes Taught: Methods of Policy Analysis; Crime Control Policy; Drug Policy; Imperfect Rationality

[WAGNER GRADUATE SCHOOL OF PUBLIC SERVICE](#)

OTHER PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITY

NATIONAL RESEARCH COUNCIL, COMMITTEE ON LAW AND JUSTICE

COMMITTEE MEMBER

[NATIONAL RESEARCH COUNCIL, COMMITTEE ON LAW AND JUSTICE](#)

BOTEC ANALYSIS CORPORATION (LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA)

CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

[BOTEC ANALYSIS CORPORATION](#)

JOURNAL OF DRUG POLICY ANALYSIS

EDITOR

[JOURNAL OF DRUG POLICY ANALYSIS](#)

THE REALITY-BASED COMMUNITY

EDITOR/BLOGGER

[THE REALITY-BASED COMMUNITY](#)

REFEREE FOR:

Addiction, American Journal of Public Health, Applications & Methods, California Policy Research Center, Cambridge University Press, Criminal Justice Review, Drug and Alcohol Dependence, Economic Inquiry, Journal of the American Medical Association, Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, Journal of Drug Issues, Journal of Health Politics, Policy & Law, Journal of Policy Analysis and Management, Journal of Quantitative Criminology, Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, Industrial Relations, Kluwer Academic Publishers, Milbank Quarterly, MIT Press, Optimal Control, Oxford University Press, Policy Studies Journal, Review of Economics and Statistics, Zeitschrift für Nationalökonomie.

PRIOR ACADEMIC AFFILIATIONS

LUSKIN SCHOOL OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, UCLA

PROFESSOR OF PUBLIC POLICY, 1996 – 2015

[LUSKIN SCHOOL OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS](#)

BATTEN SCHOOL OF LEADERSHIP AND POLICY, UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

VISITING PROFESSOR OF PUBLIC POLICY, FALL 2012

[BATTEN SCHOOL OF LEADERSHIP AND POLICY, UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA](#)

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF JUSTICE

VISITING FELLOW, 2011-2013

[NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF JUSTICE](#)

HARVARD LAW SCHOOL

VISITING PROFESSOR, WINTER 2012

[HARVARD LAW SCHOOL](#)

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND SCHOOL OF PUBLIC POLICY

THOMAS C. SCHELLING VISITING PROFESSOR, FALL 2006

[UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND SCHOOL OF PUBLIC POLICY](#)

HARVARD UNIVERSITY, JOHN F. KENNEDY SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF PUBLIC POLICY, 1992-1996.

LECTURER IN PUBLIC POLICY, 1987-1992

[HARVARD UNIVERSITY, JOHN F. KENNEDY SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT](#)

UNIVERSITY OF ROCHESTER

VISITING SENIOR LECTURER IN PUBLIC POLICY, 1985-86.

[UNIVERSITY OF ROCHESTER](#)

GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS EXPERIENCE

OFFICE OF POLICY AND MANAGEMENT ANALYSIS, CRIMINAL DIVISION, UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

DIRECTOR, 1982-1983.

Managed a group of eleven professionals (plus support staff) working on policy and management studies and on the development and use of information systems.

ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR FOR DRUG ENFORCEMENT PROGRAMS, 1979-1982.

Analyzed the impact of drug law enforcement strategies on the structure and operations of the illicit drug industry, and proposed changes in enforcement organization, strategy, and operations to minimize the social cost of drug trafficking given limited enforcement resources.

CITY OF BOSTON, OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET

DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR MANAGEMENT, 1978-1979.

DIRECTOR OF PROGRAM ANALYSIS, 1977-1978.

Managed a group of five professionals (plus support staff) performing analytic work on resource-allocation decisions and providing management assistance to operating agencies.

POLAROID CORPORATION

SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO EDWIN H. LAND, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD, 1975-1976.

Developed, from crude operating data, a profit maximization model to evaluate decisions about pricing, capital allocation, and marketing expenditures. Analyzed the effects of corporate structure and interpersonal relations on decision-making and operations.

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

LEGISLATIVE ASSISTANT TO REP. LES ASPIN, 1974-1975.

Advised the Congressman on energy, environmental, and economic issues. Drafted the first legislation to regulate fluorocarbon (Freon) emissions, proposing a market-simulating auction system, and did extensive analyses of the breeder reactor development program and of the risks and benefits of recycling the plutonium contained in spent nuclear reactor fuel.

EDUCATION

HARVARD UNIVERSITY, JOHN F. KENNEDY SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT, CAMBRIDGE, MA

PH.D. IN PUBLIC POLICY, June 1985.

Thesis title: *Allocating Federal Drug Enforcement Resources: The Case of Marijuana.*

MASTER OF PUBLIC POLICY, June 1977.

Haverford College, Haverford, PA

BACHELOR OF ARTS, *magna cum laude*, June 1972.

Major fields: Economics (honors), Philosophy (honors), Political Science (high honors).

Phi Beta Kappa.

HONORS

SCHOOL OF PUBLIC POLICY, UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND

THOMAS C. SCHELLING VISITING PROFESSOR, FALL 2006

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES

UCLA PUBLIC AFFAIRS SOCIETY UNDERGRADUATE TEACHING AWARD, 2006

PUBLICATIONS

BOOKS:

[Marijuana Legalization: What Everyone Needs to Know](#)

(with Jonathan P. Caulkins, Angela Hawken, Beau Kilmer), Oxford University Press, June 2012.
Second edition: April 2016.

[Drugs and Drug Policy: What Everyone Needs to Know](#)

(with Jonathan P. Caulkins and Angela Hawken), Oxford University Press, June 2011.

[Encyclopedia of Drug Policy](#), (general editor), Sage Publications (2011).

[When Brute Force Fails: How to Have Less Crime and Less Punishment](#), Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009. (Named one of the “Books of the Year” for 2009 by *The Economist*.)
Spanish translation by the Universidad de los Andes (forthcoming).

[Against Excess: Drug Policy for Results](#); New York: Basic Books, 1992 (Aaron Wildavsky Book Award, Policy Studies Organization, 1993).

[Marijuana: Costs of Abuse, Costs of Control](#); Greenwich, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1989.

JOURNAL ARTICLES, BOOK CHAPTERS:

“[Smoothing the Transition from Prison to the Community](#)” (with Angela Hawken) – Policy Proposal for the Brookings Institution’s Hamilton Project

“[Quasi-Legal Cannabis in Colorado and Washington: Local and National Implications](#),” (Angela Hawken, Jonathan Caulkins, Beau Kilmer, Mark Kleiman), *Addiction*.

“[A New Role for Parole](#),” *Washington Monthly*.

“[Cooperative Enforcement Agreements and Policy Waivers: New Options for Federal Accommodation to State-Level Cannabis Legalization](#),” (Mark A.R. Kleiman) *Journal of Drug Policy Analysis*. Volume 6, Issue 1. August 2013.

“[Smart on Crime](#),” *Democracy Journal*, Issue 28, Spring, 2013.

“[High Tax States: Options for Gleaning Revenue from Legal Cannabis](#),” *Oregon Law Review*, Vol. 94, issue 4.

“[A Voter’s Guide to Decriminalizing Marijuana](#),” (Jonathan P. Caulkins, Angela Hawken, Beau Kilmer, Mark A.R. Kleiman), *The American Interest*.

- [“Strategies to Control Mexican Drug-Trafficking Violence,”](#) (with Steven Davenport), *Journal of Drug Policy Analysis*
- “Marijuana Legalization 2012: The Brewing Conflict Between State and Federal Law, (with Jonathan P. Caulkins, Angela Hawken, and Beau Kilmer), *The American Interest*.
- “The Pros and Cons of Legalization,” (with Jonathan P. Caulkins, Anna Kasunic, Michael A.C. Lee), In *Substance Abuse in Adolescence and Young Adults: A Critical Conundrum for Society*, eds. Donald E. Greydanus, Gabroel Kaplan, Dilip Patel, Joav Merrick (forthcoming).
- [“Eight Questions for Drug Policy Research,”](#) (with Jonathan P. Caulkins, Angela Hawken, and Beau Kilmer), *Issues in Science and Technology* pp. 79 – 88, Summer, 2012.
- [“Targeting Drug-Trafficking Violence in Mexico,”](#) *Journal of Drug Policy Analysis*.
- “Targeting Drug-Trafficking Violence in Mexico: An Orthogonal Approach,” Yale Center for the Study of Globalization, Conference on [Re-thinking the “War on Drugs” Through the U.S.-Mexico Prism](#), e-book edited by Ernesto Zedillo and Haynie Wheeler, pp. 125 – 36, April, 2012.
- [“Optimizing the Drug-Scheduling Process: Commentary on Coulson and Caulkins,”](#) *Addiction*, Vol. 107, Issue 4, pgs. 774-775, April, 2012.
- [“Triage in the Drug War,”](#) *The American Interest*, online February 21, 2012.
- [“Reducing Crime by Shrinking the Prison Headcount,”](#) *Ohio State Journal of Criminal Law*, Vol. 9, No. 1, pp. 89 – 107, Fall, 2011.
- [“Justice Reinvestment in Community Supervision,”](#) Special issue on Mass Incarceration, *Criminology & Public Policy*, Vol. 10, No. 3, pp. 651 – 659, August, 2011.
- [“Crime-Minimizing Drug Policy,”](#) (with Lowry Heussler), Special issue on Crime and Addiction, *Journal of Criminal Justice Policy*, Vol. 39, pp. 286-288, 2011.
- [“The Case For a National Frat Tax?”](#) (with Will Godfrey) *The Fix* (online), April 8, 2011.
- [“Think Again: The Afghan Drug Trade,”](#) (with Jonathan Kulick and Jonathan Caulkins), *Foreign Policy*, April, 2011.
- [“Drugs and Crime,”](#) (with Jonathan P. Caulkins), in *Handbook of Crimes and Punishment*, Michael Tonry ed., Oxford University Press, pp. 275 – 320, Spring 2011.
- [“Drugs, Crime and Public Policy,”](#)(with David A. Boyum and Jonathan P. Caulkins), in *Crime and Public Policy*, James Q. Wilson and Joan Petersilia eds., Oxford University Press, pp. 368 – 410, December, 2010.
- [“Toward Fewer Prisoners and Less Crime,”](#) *Daedalus* on “Mass Incarceration” Glenn Loury and Bruce Western, eds., pp. 115 – 123, Summer 2010.
- [“The Minimum Legal Drinking Age: “Leaving it to the States vs. Uniformity at a Lower Age,”](#) in

- Natasha A. Frost, Joshua D. Freilich, and Todd R. Clear eds., *Contemporary Issues in Criminal Justice Policy: Policy Proposals from the American Society of Criminology Conference*, Cengage Learning Inc., November, 2009.
- [“The Dynamics of Deterrence,”](#) (with Beau Kilmer), *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, Vol. 106, No. 34, 14230-14235, 2009.
- “Machiavelli’s Socratic Dialogue: The Prince as a Seduction into Virtue,” UCLA School of Public Affairs, Department of Public Policy Faculty Research Paper Series #09-001, 2009.
- [“An Administrative Remedy for the Crack Mandatory Sentencing Problem,”](#) *Journal of Drug Policy Analysis*, Vol. 1, Issue 1, Article 3, 2008.
- [“Drugs and Drug Policies in the United States,”](#) (with Jonathan P. Caulkins), in *Understanding America*, Peter H. Schuck and James Q. Wilson eds, Public Affairs Press, pp. 563 – 596, 2008.
- [“Alcohol As A ‘Drug’: A Moral Revolution ”](#) *Addiction* Vol. 102 No.8, 1189–1189, 2007.
- [“Dueling Failures: Comparative Institutional Analysis and the Logic of Policy Choice,”](#) (with Steven M. Teles), in Robert Goodin, Michael Moran, and Martin Rein eds., *Oxford Handbook of Public Policy*, pp. 624 – 650, 2006.
- [“Religiosity, Piety, Humility, and Democracy.”](#) *Society* Vol. 42 No.4, pp. 38-39. May/June 2005
- [“Toward \(More Nearly\) Optimal Sentencing for Drug Offenders,”](#) *Criminology & Public Policy*, Vol. 3, No. 3, pp. 435 – 40, July, 2004.
- [“Costs and Benefits of Immunotherapies or Depot Medications for the Treatment of Drug Abuse,”](#) in Henrick J. Harwood and Tracy G. Meyers, eds., *New Treatments for Addiction: Behavioral, Ethical, Legal and Social Questions*, National Research Council and Institute of Medicine, Committee on Immunotherapies and Sustained-Release Medications for Treating Drug Addiction, [Washington, DC: The National Academies Press], pp. 213 – 240, 2004.
- [“Drug Court Can Work. Would Something Else Work Better?,”](#) *Criminology & Public Policy*, Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 167 – 170, March 2003.
- [“Lessons of the ‘War’ on Drugs for the ‘War’ on Terrorism,”](#) (with Jonathan P. Caulkins and Peter Reuter), in Arnold Howitt and Robyn Pangi eds., *Countering Terrorism Dimensions of Preparedness*, MIT Press, pp. 73 – 93, 2003.
- [“The ‘Brain Disease’ Idea, Drug Policy, and Research Ethics,”](#) *Addiction*, Vol. 98, pp. 871-874, 2003.
- “An Outcome-Oriented Look at Firearms Policies,” in Philip J. Cook and Jens Ludwig eds., *Evaluating Gun Policy: Effects on Crime and Violence*, [Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press], pp. 404 – 411, 2003.
- [“Science, Politics, and the Public Health,”](#) *Society*, Vol. 39, No. 4, pp. 11-16, May/June 2002.
- [“The False ID Problem,”](#) *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, Vol. 21, No. 2, pp. 283- 286, Spring 2002.

- [“Substance Abuse Policy from a Crime-Control Perspective,”](#) (with David A. Boyum), in James Q. Wilson and Joan Petersilia, eds., *Crime: Public Policies for Crime Control*, [Oakland: ICS Press], 2002.
- [“Present at the Creation: Jerome Jaffe and Harold Hughes ,”](#) in Griffith Edwards ed., *Addiction: Evolution of a Specialist Field*, [Oxford: Blackwell Publishing], 2002.
- [“Use and Abuse of Science in Drug Abuse Control Policy ,”](#) in Jonathan B. Imber ed., *Searching for Science Policy*, [New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers], pp. 51 – 66, 2002.
- [“Towards Practical Drug Control Policies ,”](#) *Social Research*, Vol. 68, No. 3, pp. 884 – 890, Fall 2001.
- [“Science and Drug Abuse Control Policy ,”](#) *Society*, Vol. 38, No. 4, pp. 7-12, May/June 2001
- [“Noticing the Micro-Distributional Consequences of Cigarette Taxation and its Equivalents,”](#) (with Jonathan Caulkins), *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, Vol. 20, No. 2, pp. 337-348, Spring 2001
- [“Controlling Drug Use and Crime Among Drug-Involved Offenders: Testing, Sanctions, and Treatment,”](#) in Philip H. Heymann and William N. Brownsberger eds. *Drug Addiction and Drug Policy*, Harvard University Press, pp. 168 – 192, 2001.
- “Drug Testing in Criminal Justice Settings,” (with Adele Harrell), in C. Leukefeld and F. Tims eds. *Clinical and Policy Responses to Drug Offenders*, Springer Publishing Co., 2001.
- [“Getting Deterrence Right: Applying Tipping Models and Behavioral Economics to the Problems of Crime Control,”](#) *Perspectives on Crime and Justice: 1998-1999 Lecture Series*, National Institute of Justice, Vol. 3, November 1999.
- [“Community Corrections as the Front Line in Crime Control ,”](#) *UCLA Law Review*, Vol. 46, No. 6, August 1999.
- [“Economic cost measurements, damage minimization and drug abuse control policy ,”](#) *Addiction*, Vol. 94, No. 5, pp. 638-641, May 1999.
- [“Ambiguities of Harm Reduction in Crime and Drug Policy,”](#) in Edward L. Rubin, ed., *Minimizing Harm: A New Crime Policy for Modern America*, Westview Press, pp. 197 – 202, 1999. The
- “Crime Policy: Challenge and Opportunities,” in *Crime Policy for the 21st Century*, National Institute of Justice, Washington D.C., 1999.
- [“Principles for Practical Drug Policies: The Case for a Slow Fix,”](#) [London: The Prison Reform Trust], 1999.
- [“Addiction, Rationality, Behavior and Measures: Some Comments on the Problems of Integrating Econometric and Behavioral Economic Research,”](#) in Frank J. Chaloupka, Warren K. Bickel, Michael Grossman, and Henry Saffer, eds., *The Economic Analysis of Substance Use and Abuse: An Integration of Econometric and Behavioral Economic Research*, [Chicago: The University of Chicago Press], National Bureau of Economic Research, 1999.

- “Drinking Water Treatment: Balancing Infectious Disease, Cancer and Cost,” (with Ra’anana Levin), in Stuart S. Nagel ed., [The Substance of Public Policy](#), [Huntington: Nova Science Publishers Inc], 1999
- “[Drug Policy for Crime Control](#),” *Policy Options*, Vol. 19, No. 8, October 1998.
- “[Drugs and Drug Policy: The Case for a Slow Fix.](#),” *Issues in Science and Technology*, Vol. XV, No. 1, Fall 1998.
- “[Reducing the Prevalence of Cocaine and Heroin Dealing Among Adolescents](#),” *Valparaiso University Law Review*, Vol. 31, No. 2, pp. 551 – 564, May 1997.
- “Thoughts on the Medical Cannabis Issue,” *Drug Policy Analysis Bulletin*, No. 2, May 1997.
- “[Methamphetamine Returns](#),” (with Sally Satel), *Drug Policy Analysis Bulletin*, No. 1, January 1997.
- “Managing Drug-Involved Offenders,” *Drug Policy Analysis Bulletin*, No. 1, January 1997.
- “[Coerced Abstinence: A Neo-Paternalistic Drug Policy Initiative](#),” in Lawrence A. Mead, ed., *The New Paternalism*, Brookings Institution Press, 1997.
- “Commentary on Skolnick: The Ambiguities of Harm Reduction in Crime and Drug Policy,” in Edward L. Rubin, ed., [Minimizing Harm as a Goal for Crime Policy in California](#), Berkeley, California, California Policy Seminar, 1997.
- “[The Factors of Production in Retail Drug Dealing](#),” (with Rebecca M. Young), *Urban Affairs Review* (formerly the *Urban Affairs Quarterly*), Vol. 30, No. 5, May 1995.
- “[The Medical Use of Marijuana: The Case for Clinical Trials](#),” (with Richard Doblin), *Journal of Addictive Diseases*, Vol. 14 (1), 1995.
- “Alcohol and Other Drugs” (with David A. Boyum), in [James Q. Wilson and Joan Petersilia eds., Crime and Public Policy](#), Institute for Contemporary Studies, [San Francisco: ICS Press], 1994.
- “Organized Crime and Drug Abuse Control,” in Robert J. Kelly , Ko-Lin Chin and Rufus Schatzberg eds., [Handbook of Organized Crime in the United States](#), [Westport, CT: Greenwood Press], 1994.
- “[Enforcement Swamping: A Positive-Feedback Mechanism in Rates of Illicit Activity](#),” *Mathematical & Computer Modeling*, Vol. 17, No. 2, pp. 65-75, January 1993.
- “[Drug Abuse Control Policy: Libertarian, Authoritarian, Liberal and Communitarian Perspectives](#),” *The Responsive Community*, Winter 1992/93.
- “[Neither Prohibition Nor Legalization: Grudging Toleration in Drug Control Policy](#),” *Daedalus*, Summer 1992. <https://www.ncjrs.gov/App/publications/abstract.aspx?ID=168406>
- “[Heroin Policy for the Next Decade](#),” (with Jonathan P. Caulkins) *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 521, May 1992.
- “Taxes, Regulations, and Prohibitions: Reformulating the Legalization Debate,” (with Aaron Saiger), in Peter H. Smith ed., [Drug Policy in the Americas](#), Westview Press, 1992.

- [“Marijuana as Antiemetic Medicine: A Survey of Oncologists’ Experience and Attitudes,”](#) (with Richard Doblin), *Journal of Clinical Oncology*, Vol. 9, No. 7, July 1991.
- “The Optimal Design of Drug-Control Laws,” in Melvyn B. Krauss and Edward P. Lazear eds., [Searching for Alternatives: Drug Policy in the United States](#), Hoover Institution Press, 1991.
- [“Drug Legalization: The Importance of Asking the Right Question”](#) (with Aaron J. Saiger), *Hofstra Law Review*, Vol. 18, No. 3, Spring 1990.
- "State and Local Drug Enforcement: In Search of a Strategy," (with Kerry D. Smith), in Michael Tonry and Norval Morris eds., *Crime and Justice: An Annual Review of Research*, Vol. 12, 1990.
- [“AIDS, Vice, and Public Policy,”](#) *Law and Contemporary Problems*, Vol. 51, No. 1, Winter 1988.
- [“With This Test I Thee Wed: Evaluating Premarital AIDS Testing,”](#) (with Richard W. Mockler), *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, Vol. 7, No. 3, Spring 1988.
- [“Liberalism and Vice Control,”](#) *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, Vol. 6, No. 2, Winter 1987.
- “AIDS, the Criminal Justice System and Civil Liberties,” (with Richard W. Mockler), *Governance, Harvard Journal of Public Policy*, Summer-Fall 1987.
- "Vice Policy in Liberal Society," *Nova Law Journal*, Vol. 11, No. 3, Spring 1987.
- [“Risks and Prices: An Economic Analysis of Drug Enforcement,”](#) (with Peter Reuter), *Crime and Justice*, Vol. 7, 1986.
- "Drug Enforcement and Organized Crime," in Alexander and Caiden eds., [The Politics and Economics of Organized Crime](#), [Lexington: Lexington Books], 1984.

TECHNICAL REPORTS AND POLICY MEMOS

- [“Marijuana Legalization Debate: Insights from Vermont.”](#) (with Beau Kilmer, Jon Caulkins, Rob MacCoun, Greg Midgette, Pat Ogelsby, Rosalie Pacula, and Peter Reuter) Research brief for the RAND Corporation, 2015.
- [“Reducing Prison Populations and Crime Rates in California Through Enhanced Community Supervision Mechanisms,”](#) *Policy Matters*, Goldman School of Public Policy, UC Berkeley, 2011 Fall Special Issue on Budget and Crime, Vol. 9, No. 1, pp. 10 -11, October 11, 2011.
- “Office of National Drug Control Policy Strategy Recommendations,” (with Harold Pollack), note to Gil Kerlikowske, Director, ONDCP, December 6, 2010.
- “Targeted Zero Tolerance and Regulatory Enforcement,” memo to Shelley Metzenbaum, Associate Director for Performance and Personnel Management at Office of Budget and Management, November 4, 2010.
- “Why ‘Prevention and Treatment’ Doesn’t Add Up to ‘Demand Reduction,’” memo to Carlos Pasqual, U.S. Ambassador, October 24, 2010.

- “International Supply Reduction and Interdiction,” testimony for the Domestic Policy Subcommittee of the Oversight and Government Reform Committee, July 21, 2010.
- “[Drug Production and Trafficking, Counterdrug Policies, and Security and Governance in Afghanistan](#),” (Jonathan P. Caulkins, Mark A.R. Kleiman and Jonathan D. Kulick), New York University Center on International Cooperation, June, 2010.
- “[Managing Drug Involved Probationers with Swift and Certain Sanctions: Evaluating Hawaii’s HOPE](#)” (with Angela Hawken), Technical Report submitted to the National Institute of Justice, December, 2009.
- “[The Dynamics of Deterrence](#),” (with Beau Kilmer, Andrew Morral), prepared for 28th Annual APPAM Research Conference, Madison, Wisconsin, November, 2006.
- “[Drug Policies to Minimize Aggregate Harm](#),” prepared for The Beckley Foundation, Global Drug Policy: Future Directions, London, England. Fall, 2005.
- “[When Brute Force Fails: Strategy for Crime Control](#),” Final report to the National Institute of Justice, 2005.
- “[Reducing the Contribution of the Drug Problem to Violence in El Salvador](#),” prepared for [Sociedad sin Violencia](#), A Project of the United Nations Development Program, San Salvador, El Salvador, 2004.
- “[Opportunities and Barriers in Probation Reform: A Case Study of Drug Testing and Sanctions](#),” (with Thomas H. Tran, Paul Fishbein, Maria-Teresa Magula, Warren Allen and Gareth Lacy), Detailed Research Findings, California Policy Research Center, 2003.
- “Considerations on Sentencing for Drug Offenders,” Georgia Governor’s Commission on Certainty in Sentencing, The Sentencing Guideline, Vol. 4, Issue 2, July 2002.
- “[Opportunities and Barriers in Probation Reform: A Case Study of Drug Testing and Sanctions](#),” (with Thomas H. Tran, Paul Fishbein, Maria-Teresa Magula, Warren Allen and Gareth Lacy), CPRC Brief, California Policy Research Center, Vol. 14, No. 4, June 2002.
- “Military Tribunals for Accused Terrorists: Procedure, Policy Analysis, and Politics,” prepared for the Spring Meeting of the Commercial and Federal Litigation Section of the New York State Bar Association, February, 2002.
- “Who Benefits from Better Drug Treatment?,” Prepared for Join Together, 2002.
- “[Illicit Drugs and the Terrorist Threat: Causal Links and Policy Implications](#),” report prepared for the Congressional Research Service, 2002.
- “[Controlling Drug-Related Violence](#),” prepared for Sociedad sin Violencia, A Project of the United Nations Development Program, San Salvador, El Salvador, 2002.
- “User Sanctions and Supply Control,” prepared for National Research Council’s Dissemination Workshop on Informing America’s Policy on Illegal Drugs, October 2001.
- “Statement of the Drug Policy Project of the Federation of American Scientists to the U.S. Sentencing Commission,” comment on the Proposed Changes to MDMA (“Ecstasy”) Penalties, 2001.

- “Repeat Drunk Driving Intermediate Sanctions and Secure Facility Feasibility Project” with Kate Biebel, Christopher Ferragamo, Michael Forcier and Carol Williams, BOTEC Analysis Corporation, Prepared for the Office of Community Corrections, July 30, 1998.
- “The Proposed ‘Global Settlement’ of Tobacco Litigation: A Policy Analysis,” Working Paper, Institute for Legal Studies, University of Wisconsin-Madison Law School, Madison, Wisconsin, February 1998.
- “Principles for Practical Drug Policies,” Proceedings of the 3rd European Conference on Rehabilitation and Drug Policy, Europe Against Drug Abuse, Oslo, Norway, January 1998.
- “Controlling Drug Use and Crime Among California’s Drug-Involved Offenders: Testing, Sanctions, and Treatment,” in California Policy Options 1998, The School of Public Policy and Social Research, University of California, and the University of California Anderson Forecast, 1998.
- “Corporate Policies Toward Employee Substance Abuse: A Bottom-Line Analysis,” HARRT Quarterly, University of California Los Angeles, Summer 1997.
- “Understanding and Controlling Homicide in San Juan,” (with four co-authors), BOTEC Analysis Corporation, October 1996
- “The Swine Flu Decision: An Analytic Summary,” Case Program #C18-96-1320.0, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, 1996.
- “Criminal Justice in Massachusetts: Putting Crime Control First,” (with six co-authors), Massachusetts Institute for a New Commonwealth, 1996.
- “Breaking the Cycle: Direct Demand Reduction in the Criminal Justice System,” (with Jenny W. Rudolph), BOTEC Analysis Corporation, April 1995.
- “Evaluation of the Multnomah County Drug Testing and Evaluation Program,” (with David P. Cavanagh, Adele Harrell and Merle Frank), BOTEC Analysis Corporation, February 1995.
- “Assessing Needle Exchange: The Limits of Benefit Cost Analysis”, (with Jenny W. Rudolph), paper commissioned by the National Research Council Panel on Needle Exchange and Bleach Distribution, Working Paper #94-04-18, Program in Criminal Justice Policy and Management, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, November 1994..
- “Beyond the Drug-Free Workplace: Substance Abuse Policy for Industry,” Working Paper Series #94-01-23, Program in Criminal Justice Policy and Management, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, April 1994.
- “Marijuana Situation Assessment,” (with Andrew Lockwood Chalsma and David A. Boyum), BOTEC Analysis Corporation, 1994.
- “Measuring Heroin Availability: A Demonstration,” (with Ann Marie Rocheleau), BOTEC Analysis Corporation, January 1993.

- “Reorganizing Federal Drug Law Enforcement,” (Testimony before the House Judiciary Committee), Working Paper Series #93-01-23, Program in Criminal Justice Policy and Management, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1993.
- “Assessment and Recommendations: Violent Criminal Apprehension Program,” (with Merle Frank and David P. Cavanagh), BOTEC Analysis Corporation, October 1992.
- “Heroin Situation Assessment,” (with David A. Boyum, Jonathan Caulkins, Karen Model, David P. Cavanagh, Merle Frank) BOTEC Analysis Corporation, January 1992.
- “Controlling Drug Use and Crime by Drug-Involved Offenders: Drug Testing and Treatment in the Criminal Justice System,” (with Jenny W. Rudolph), paper prepared for the Working Group of State Drug Control Executives, Program in Criminal Justice Policy and Management, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, 1992.
- “Modeling Drug Markets: Overview,” John F. Kennedy School of Government, Program in Criminal Justice Policy and Management, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1991.
- “Drug Abuse in Jackson County, Missouri: Problem Assessment and Recommendations,” (with Merle Frank, Sarah Chayes and Jessie Reiber), BOTEC Analysis Corporation, December 1990.
- “Cost Benefit Analysis of Prison Cell Construction and Alternative Sanctions,” (with David P. Cavanagh), BOTEC Analysis Corporation, Prepared for the National Institute of Justice, June 19, 1990.
- "Heroin Crackdowns in Two Massachusetts Cities: Executive Summary," Working Paper #89-01-15, Program in Criminal Justice Policy and Management, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts., March 28 1989.
- "Heroin Crackdowns in Two Massachusetts Cities," (with Christopher E. Putala, Rebecca M. Young, and David P. Cavanagh), BOTEC Analysis Corporation, 1989.
- “AIDS and Heroin: Strategies for Control,” (with Richard W. Mockler), The Urban Institute, Washington, DC., October 1988.
- "Imprisonment-to-Offense Ratios," (with Kerry D. Smith, Richard A. Rogers, and David P. Cavanagh), BOTEC Analysis Corporation, August 1988.
- "Crackdowns: The Effects of Intensive Enforcement on Retail Heroin Dealing," in Marcia R. Chaiken ed., Street Level Drug Enforcement: Examining the Issues, National Institute of Justice, 1988.
- "A Drug Enforcement Program for Santa Cruz County," (with Mary Ellen Lawrence and Aaron Saiger), Working Paper #88-01-13, Program in Criminal Justice Policy and Management, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, August 5 1987.
- "Drug Abuse Control Policy," Working Paper #88-01-12, Program in Criminal Justice Policy and Management, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts., August 5 1987.

- "Making and Evaluating Drug Abuse Policies," (Testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee.) Working Paper #87-01-05, Program in Criminal Justice Policy and Management, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts., June 1987.
- "The Punishment Deficit and the Prosecutor's Job," (Report to the Prosecutors' Executive Session.) Working Paper #87-02-01, Program in Criminal Justice Policy and Management, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, June 1987.
- "The Changing Face of Cocaine," (Report to the Ford Foundation.), Working Paper #87-01-07, Program in Criminal Justice Policy and Management, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., January 1987.
- "Survey Research and Drug Enforcement Policy," Working Paper #87-01-04, Program in Criminal Justice Policy and Management, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, January 1987.
- "Organized Crime and Drug Abuse Control," in Herbert Edelhertz ed., Major Issues in Organized Crime Control, Northwest Policy Studies Center, Bellevue, Wash., 1987.
- "The AIDS Epidemic and the Criminal Justice System: Developing a Policy Agenda," Working Paper #87-04-01, Program in Criminal Justice Policy and Management, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Cambridge, Massachusetts, December 8 1986.
- "Bringing Back Street-Level Heroin Enforcement," (Commissioned by the National Research Council), Working Paper #86-01-08, Program in Criminal Justice Policy and Management, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, November 14 1986.
- "Data and Analysis Requirements for Policy toward Drug Enforcement and Organized Crime Control," published as Appendix G of America's Habit: Drug Abuse, Drug Trafficking, and Organized Crime, President's Commission on Organized Crime, April 1986.
- "Regulating Psychoactive and Abusable Drugs: The Issue of Abuse Potential Testing," (with Mark Moore, Christopher Putala, David Burmaster, Susanna Ginsburg, and David Hsia), BOTEC Analysis Corporation, Cambridge, Massachusetts, January 1986.
- "High on Numbers: The Mythical Domestic Marijuana Crop," paper presented at the annual meeting of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, October 1985.
- "Report to the District Attorney for Essex County: Evaluation of the Lynn Drug Task Force," (with William Holland and Christopher Hayes), Working Paper #84-01-03, Program in Criminal Justice Policy and Management, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts., October 1984.
- "The Cost of Punishment and the Price of Crime," (Presented at the annual meeting of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, October 1983.) Working Paper #85-06-01, Program in Criminal Justice Policy and Management, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, October 1983.

JOURNALISM

- [“High Stakes: The Future of U.S. Drug Policy,”](#) *Foreign Affairs*, April/May 2017
- [“We Don’t Need to Keep Criminals in Prison to Punish Them.”](#) *Vox*, May 2015.
- [“Focus on Violent Gangs and Big Users,”](#) *The New York Times* Room for Debate, May 30, 2012.
- [“Rethinking the War on Drugs”](#) (with Jonathan P. Caulkins and Angela Hawken), *Wall Street Journal* Saturday Essay, April 11, 2012.
- [“In California, Legal Pot is Best of Bad Options,”](#) *Bloomberg View* op-ed, June 15, 2011.
- [“Surgical Strikes in the War on Drugs: Smarter Policies for Both Sides of the Border,”](#) *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 90, No. 5., pp. 89 – 101, September/October 2011.
- [“Smarter Punishment, Less Crime: Why reducing incarceration and victimization should be complementary goals,”](#) *The American Prospect*, Vol. 22, No., December, 2010.
- [“The Outpatient Prison,”](#) *The American Interest*, Vol. V, No. 4, pp. 45-51, Spring 2010.
- [“Fighting the drug trade helps the Taliban,”](#) *Financial Times* Op-ed, July 8, 2010.
- [“How Health Care Reform Could Combat Crime,”](#) *Newsweek*, published online September 12, 2009.
- [“Jail Break,”](#) *Washington Monthly*, pp. 56 – 60, July/August 2009.
- [“Advice for the New Drug Czar,”](#) *The American Prospect*, published online February 12, 2009.
- [“Drug Policy in Principle, and in Practice,”](#) reaction essay in [Cato Unbound](#), published online September 15, 2008.
- [“Fixing the Parole System,”](#) (with Angela Hawken), *Issues in Science and Technology*, pp.45-52, Summer 2008.
- [“H.O.P.E. for Reform,”](#) (with Angela Hawken), *The American Prospect On-line*, April 10, 2007.
- [“Dopey, Boozy, Smokey---and Stupid,”](#) *The American Interest*, Vol. II, No. 3, pp.79-91, January/February 2007.
- “Prohibition: a rum do,” *Druglink*, Vol. 22, Issue 4, pp. 14-15, July/August 2006.
- [“Flying Blind on Drug Control Policy,”](#) *Issues in Science and Technology*, Vol. XX, No. 4, pp. 35 – 37, Summer 2004.
- “Remembering Amalek” UCLA Hillel Torah Study Group. May 19, 2004
- [“Breaking The Drug-Crime link,”](#) (with David A. Boyum), *The Public Interest*, No. 152, pp. 19-38, Summer 2003.
- “Stop the Revolving Door,” *Blueprint*, September/October 2002.

[“The ‘War on Terror’ and the ‘War on Drugs’: A Comparison,”](#) (with Jonathan P. Caulkins and Peter Reuter), Federation of American Scientists Public Interest Report, March/April 2002.

“Escape from America’s Prison Policy,” (with Steven M. Teles), *The American Prospect*, Vol. 11, No. 20, September 11, 2000.

[“Crime Control Policy in California,”](#) *California Policy Options 2000*, The School of Public Policy and Social Research, University of California and the University of California Anderson Forecast, 2000.

“The New Front Line: Converting Probation into a Serious Crimefighting Tool,” *The New Democrat*, Vol. 11, No. 4, July/August 1999.

“Middle Ground,” *UCLA Magazine*, Vol. 10, No. 3, December, 1998.

[“Should Some Illegal Drugs Be Legalized?”](#) *Issues in Science and Technology*, Vol. 6, No. 4, Summer 1990.

BOOK REVIEWS

“*Cannabis Policy: Moving Beyond Stalemate*,” by Robin Room et. al, review in *Addiction* (featured review), Vol. 106, pp. 1194 – 1196, June, 2011. [Available at Wiley Online Library](#)

“*Paying the Tab: The Costs and Benefits of Alcohol Control*,” by Philip J. Cook, review in *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, Vol. 27, No. 3, pp. 692-695, Summer, 2008. [Available at Wiley Online Library](#)

“Alcohol as a ‘Drug’: A Moral Revolution,” by Philip J. Cook and Peter Reuter, review in *Addiction*, Vol. 102, No. 8, pg. 1189, online July 6, 2007. [Available at Wiley Online Library](#)

Drugs and Youth Cultures: Local and Global Expressions, by Philip Lalander and Mikko Salasuo eds., review in *Addiction*, Vol. 102, pp. 167-168, 2007. [Available at Wiley Online Library](#)

Cannabis Use and Dependence, by and Rosalie Licado Pacula, review in *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, Vol. 24 No. 1, pp. 196-199, Winter 2005. [Available at Wiley Online Library](#)

Cross-National Drug Policy, review in *Addiction*, Vol. 98, pp. 1637-1640, 2003. [Available at Wiley Online Library](#)

Resisting 12-Step Coercion: How to Fight Forced Participation in AA, NA, or 12-Step Treatment, by Stanton Peele and Charles Bufe with Archie Brodsky, review in *Addiction*, Vol. 97, pp.113-116, 2002. [Available at Wiley Online Library](#)

Drug Control and the Courts, by James A. Inciardi, Duane C. McBride, and James E. Rivers, and *Drug War Politics: The Price of Denial*, by Eva Bertram, Morris Blachman, Kenneth Sharpe, and Peter Andreas, review in *Addiction*, Vol. 93, No. 10, 1998. [Available at Wiley Online Library](#)

Drug War Politics: The Price of Denial, by Eva Bertram, Morris Blachman, Kenneth Sharpe, and Peter

Andreas; and *Snow Job? The War Against International Cocaine Trafficking*, by Kevin Jack Riley. Review in *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, Vol. 15, No. 4, Fall 1997. [Available at Jstor.org](#)

America's Longest War: Rethinking Our Tragic Crusade Against Drugs, by Steven B. Duke and Albert C. Gross; *The Politics of Sin: Drugs, Alcohol and Public Policy*, by Kenneth J. Meier; and *The Economic Anatomy of a Drug War: Justice in the Commons*, by David W. Rasmussen and Bruce

L. Benson, review in *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, Vol. 14, No. 3, Summer 1995. [Available at Jstor.org](#)